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RELEASED IN PART
B6, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

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ACTION EUR-01

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	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02
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	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00
	PMB-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-01	/045W		
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O 021642Z JUN 94
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5723
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 PARIS 15107

ROME FOR EMBASSY VATICAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, KDEM, FR, CG, BE
SUBJECT: ZAIRE: REGIONAL ISSUES; THE ARMS EMBARGO
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PAGE 02 PARIS 15107 01 OF 04 021643Z
- FOR RWANDA; DEMARCHES; AND MESSENGERS

REF: A) PARIS 14682 B) STATE 138766

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THIS IS AN ACTION REQUEST; SEE PARAGRAPH 9.
3. SUMMARY:

ASSURED US THAT HIS BOSS IS PREPARED TO
PARTICIPATE IN THE PROPOSED JUNE 6 REGIONAL SUMMIT TO

FOIA B6

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BE HOSTED AND CHAIRED BY KENYA -- PROVIDED THAT OTHER REGIONAL LEADERS ARE ALSO PRESENT. HE ALSO MADE AN UNINSPIRED DEFENSE CONCERNING THE TRANSIT OF ARMS VIA ZAIRE TO RWANDA, CLAIMING THAT MOBUTU IS NOT ALWAYS AWARE OF WHAT IS DONE IN HIS NAME. WE REPLIED THAT IF IT WAS EVER TRUE, SUCH AN ARGUMENT NO LONGER HOLDS WATER AND MOBUTU SHOULD BE PREPARED TO REAFFIRM THAT ZAIRE IS RESPECTING THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S ARMS EMBARGO -- ESPECIALLY IF HE IS TRYING TO REBUILD RESPECTABILITY VIA REGIONAL ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

4. WE HELD SEVERAL DISCUSSIONS ABOUT ZAIRE AND RWANDA ON JUNE 1 AND 2 WITH [REDACTED]

1.4(D)
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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] SEVERAL
RWANDA-SPECIFIC MATTERS WILL BE REPORTED SEPTTEL.

THE REGIONAL SUMMIT: MOBUTU
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5. [REDACTED] NOTED THAT AFTER HIS CONVERSATION WITH [REDACTED] HE TELEPHONED GABDOLITE AND SPOKE WITH MOBUTU DIRECTLY ON THE INVITATION OF THE KENYANS FOR A REGIONAL SUMMIT. MOBUTU RESPONDED THAT HE IS PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE DIRECTLY IN A SUMMIT ON JUNE 6 IN KENYA, CHAIRED BY THE GOK, PROVIDED THAT THE OTHER REGIONAL LEADERS WILL ALSO BE PRESENT. [REDACTED] ADDED THAT MOBUTU REMAINS READY TO HOST A SUMMIT IN ZAIRE, IF IT WOULD BE HELPFUL. [REDACTED] ALSO REITERATED WHAT THE QUAI AND ELYSEE HAVE BEEN STRESSING: MOBUTU DOES NOT NEED TO PLAY THE CENTRAL ROLE AT NAIROBI BUT HE MUST BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE PEACE PROCESS.

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THE ARMS EMBARGO FOR RWANDA

6. WE REVIEWED FOR THE [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] THE REPEATED EFFORTS MADE BY AMBASSADOR CARSON TO PRESS PRESIDENT MUSEVENI TO ASSURE THAT THE ARMS EMBARGO FOR RWANDA IS NOT BROKEN FROM UGANDAN TERRITORY AND TO USE HIS INFLUENCE TO GET THE RPF TO END ITS OFFENSIVE.
[REDACTED]

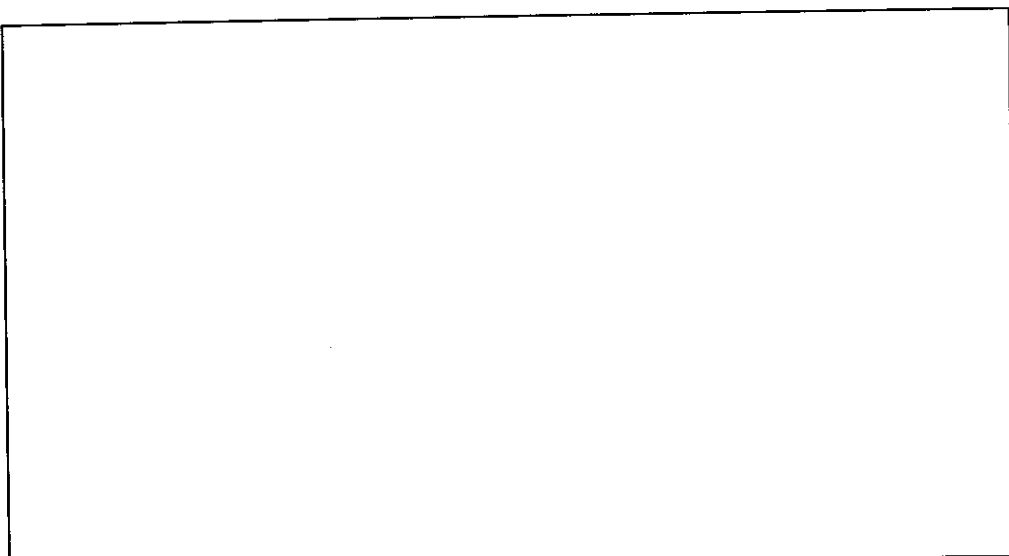
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1.4(B), 1.4(D)

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1.4(B), 1.4(D)



[REDACTED] WE MADE THE SAME POINTS TO
[REDACTED] ON JUNE 2 AND ARGUED THAT PRESIDENT MOBUTU'S
CLAIM TO PLAY A MEDIATING ROLE IN THE RWANDAN TRAGEDY
COULD BE TAKEN MORE SERIOUSLY IF ZAIRE WAS NOT SO
CLEARLY IMPLICATED IN THE SUPPLY OF ARMS BEING USED BY
THE ARMY AND HUTU EXTREMISTS TO PERPETRATE MASSACRES.

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O 021642Z JUN 94

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- FOR RWANDA; DEMARCHES; AND MESSENGERS

8. [] MADE HIS STANDARD, ALL-PURPOSE DEFENSE OF
MOBUTU CLAIMING THAT DESPITE THE COMMON WISDOM, "LE
GUIDE" IS NOT WELL-INFORMED ABOUT EVERYTHING THAT
SUPPOSEDLY HAPPENS IN HIS NAME AND, TO SOME EXTENT,
MOBUTU IS BADLY SERVED BY THE HARDLINERS IN HIS
ENTOURAGE. WE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT NATIONAL LEADERS CAN
EASILY BECOME ISOLATED BY STAFF MEMBERS WHO SCREEN
INFORMATION. HOWEVER, THAT IS A DIFFICULT ARGUMENT TO
SWALLOW GIVEN THE PRESENCE OF MOBUTU'S PERSONAL
SECURITY FORCE IN GOMA. WE ADDED THAT THE EXCUSE NO
LONGER EXISTS SINCE WE AND THE FRENCH HAVE POINTED OUT
THE PROBLEM AND THAT MOBUTU SHOULD TAKE STEPS TO STOP
FUTURE ARMS TRANSIT. WE SUGGESTED THAT MOBUTU COULD
MAKE A PUBLIC COMMITMENT TO THAT END, PERHAPS IN THE
CONTEXT OF THE NAIROBI SUMMIT. [] STATED HE WOULD
PASS THE MESSAGE TO MOBUTU. HE ADDED THAT SUCH A
STRATEGY MIGHT WORK IF IT WAS INCORPORATED IN A
REGIONAL STATEMENT, INCLUDING UGANDA.

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ACTION REQUEST

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9. THE DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO CONSIDER A DEMARCHE TO KENYA AND TANZANIA, SUGGESTING THAT THEY PRESSURE MUSEVENI AND MOBUTU TO END TRANSIT OF ARMS FROM THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. WASHINGTON MIGHT ALSO WISH TO MAKE A DEMARCHE IN PARIS, URGING THE GOF TO APPLY MAXIMUM POLITICAL PRESSURE ON MOBUTU. PLEASE ADVISE.

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FRANCE AND MOBUTU

1.4(D)

OPTION A:

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SUGGESTED THAT THE GOF NO LONGER GENUINELY CARES ABOUT THE EVENTS IN RWANDA SINCE THE SITUATION HAS DETERIORATED SO BADLY AND FUNDAMENTAL FRENCH POLITICAL INTERESTS ARE NO LONGER ENGAGED (EXCEPT ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES). SINCE THE SITUATION HAS BEEN SO DAMAGING TO FRENCH INFLUENCE, THERE WILL NOT BE ANY SERIOUS POLITICAL RETURN BY THE GOF TO RWANDA, ESPECIALLY UNDER A RPF-DOMINATED GOVERNMENT. THE REAL INTEREST OF MOBUTU'S FRIENDS IN PARIS, THEREFORE, IS TO USE THE REGIONAL SITUATION TO ENHANCE "LE MARECHAL'S" STANDING AT HOME VIS-A-VIS THE OPPOSITION.

OPTION B:

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[] ARGUED ALONG "FRANCOPHONE" LINES STATING
THAT GIVEN THE COLLAPSE OF THE GOR AND THE FAR, THE
RPF IS NOT GOING TO HAVE A SERIOUS INTERLOCUTOR
WITH WHOM IT WILL BE ABLE OR PREPARED TO
NEGOTIATE. THUS, THE RPF WILL BE TEMPTED TO IMPOSE
A MILITARY SOLUTION AND CAMOUFLAGE IT WITH THE
PARTICIPATION OF SOME HUTU MODERATES. THIS CANNOT
WORK AND WILL PROVOKE A HUTU RESISTANCE MOVEMENT IN

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THE NORTH. THUS, THE GOF IS SUPPORTING MOBUTU AS A
COUNTERWEIGHT TO MUSEVENI AND THE RPF, IN ORDER TO
KEEP THEM FROM PLUNGING THE REGION INTO A NEW CYCLE
OF VIOLENCE DUE TO A POLITICAL MISCALCULATION BASED
ON MILITARY SUCCESS. IT IS A ROLE FRANCE CAN NOT
PLAY DUE TO ITS PREVIOUS SUPPORT FOR THE GOR.

1.4(B), 1.4(D)

DEMARCHES IN KINSHASA

1.4(B), 1.4(D)

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YOU SHOULDN'T TALK TO PEOPLE LIKE THAT!

13. WE RAISED THE VISIT OF [] TO THE DEPARTMENT [] TO LEARN HIS PERSPECTIVE ON WHY [] HAD BEEN DISPATCHED AND BY WHOM. IN PERHAPS ONE OF THE ALL TIME GREAT EXAMPLES OF A POT CALLING A KETTLE BLACK, [] (WHO HAD NO INFORMATION ON THE VISIT) LAUNCHED INTO A TIRADE RECOUNTING MANY OF THE STORIES CIRCULATING AROUND PARIS ON [] LESS SAVORY ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING THAT HE IS ATTEMPTING TO PUT TOGETHER A DIAMOND MARKETING NETWORK ON HIS OWN BEHALF WITH THE "MAITRE D'HOTEL" OF MOBUTU'S HOUSEHOLD; THAT [] WILLINGNESS TO FINANCE THE "CLUB 89" (I.E. THE RPR'S DISCUSSION GROUP ON AFRICA) IS SIMPLY TO GIVE A LUSTRE OF RESPECTABILITY TO HIS BUSINESS DEALS; AND THAT HE IS USING THE NAME OF FORMER COOPERATION MINISTER AURILLAC TO OPEN DOORS THAT WOULD OTHERWISE REMAIN CLOSED TO HIM. [] URGED THAT THE DEPARTMENT WEIGH CAREFULLY ANY INFORMATION PASSED BY [] ESPECIALLY UNTIL IT IS CLEAR WHO [] REPRESENTS.

14. COMMENT: THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME IN RECENT MONTHS THAT WE HAVE FOUND [] SURPRISED BY VARIOUS

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ZAIRE-RELATED ITEMS WE RAISED. WHILE HE UNQUESTIONABLY IS STILL ON THE "BIG MAN'S" PAYROLL, IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT MOBUTU IS SPREADING THE WORK AROUND -- PERHAPS EXPLAINING [] APOPLEXY CONCERNING [] VISIT TO WASHINGTON. THAT SAID, WE WOULD BE CAUTIOUS ABOUT LEAPING TO THE CONCLUSION THAT CHIRAC WOULD SEND [] TO THE U.S. WHEN BETTER KNOWN MESSENGERS ARE READILY AVAILABLE SUCH AS FERNAND WIBAUX (WHO IS WELL

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KNOWN TO A/S MOOSE) AND FORMER MINISTER AURILLAC. END
COMMENT.

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